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ABSTRACT

The usefulness of concepts gleaned from identification theory was explored in an analysis of questionnaires from students in urban high schools in 1966. An "identificatory sequence" consisting of identificatory process and identificatory motive, and culminating in value similarity between child and parent, was proposed. This sequence was linked, in turn, with family integration and family intact, a heuristic. In a path model having value similarity as the outcome, identificatory process emerged as the dominant variable. It was the best predictor of value similarity, and most of the effect of the family systemic variables upon value similarity was indirect, via identificatory process. This variable represents the amount of power, status, nurturance and similarity expressed by the parent in the parent-child relationship. The model accounted for as much as 26 percent of the variance in value similarity. It was concluded that the concept of "social identification" subsumes variables used in exchange, balance, and interactionist theory, and can provide the foundations for a general social theory of socialization and interpersonal influence. (Author/GC)

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"SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION," SOCIAL INFLUENCE, AND VALUE TRANSMISSION

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ABSTRACT

The usefulness of concepts gleaned from identification theory was explored in an analysis of questionnaires from 1996 urban high school students. An "identificatory sequence" consisting of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS and IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE, and culminating in VALUE SIMILARITY between child and parent, was proposed; this sequence was linked, in turn, with FAMILY INTEGRATION and FAMILY INTACT, a heuristic. In a path model having VALUE SIMILARITY as the outcome, IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS emerged as the dominant variable: it was the best predictor of VALUE SIMILARITY, and most of the effect of the family systemic variables upon VALUE SIMILARITY was indirect, via IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS; this variable represents the amount of power, status, nurturance and similarity expressed by the parent in the parent-child relationship. The model accounted for as much as 26% of the variance in VALUE SIMILARITY. It was concluded that the concept of "social identification" subsumes variables used in exchange, balance, and interactionist theory, and can provide the foundations for a general social theory of socialization and interpersonal influence.

Despite the fact that sociology, by most definitions, is concerned with values, attitudes, beliefs and ideologies, the discipline has not developed any comprehensive social theory to account for their transmission within social systems. Thus discussions of "socialization" typically make use of the "partial" social theories described below or, worse, view socialization strictly from the point of view of the learner characteristics; but there appears to be no general theory available which explicitly locates the independent variables in the social matrix, and which is capable of explaining the social transmission of both behaviors and cognitions. Sociology employs the concept of socialization but, it is argued here, offers no theory of its own to adequately explain it.

Focusing upon values, as we will in this paper, the problem can be stated this way: What features of social process, and of social relationships, facilitate the process of value transmission? Four socially-oriented approaches used by sociologists are in one way or another relevant to the question: symbolic interactionism, particularly the concepts of significant other and reference group; exchange theory, as formulated by Homans (1961) and Blau (1964); "balance theory" or "cognitive consistency theory," as exemplified by the work of Newcomb (1953); and "identification theory," originating with Freud (1903) and elaborated upon by subsequent writers, including Winch (1962), and Parsons and Bales (1955).

While each of these can contribute to a "social processual" theory of social influence, none of them, taken alone, is adequate. Thus, the concepts of significant other and reference group correctly focus attention to the points of reference (referent others) of the individual, but literature relating to these concepts offers an incomplete explanation of why a particular other is significant, or why a particular group is taken as a group of reference (Rosenberg, 1973). Exchange theory, especially Blau's extension of it (Blau, 1964), contains the elements of a theory of social influence, but does not explicitly deal with problems of enduring influence upon cognition, nor the phenomena of modelling or imitation. Balance theory offers a theory of attitude formation that could easily be extended to value formation, but the independent variable in balance theory as a theory of socialization which is the valence (positiveness or negativeness) of the individual's orientation toward other, requires closer examination; in other words, an explanation of why the individual has a positive orientation toward other is required. Finally, identification theory has the merit of being very general -- capable of subsuming the phenomena of modelling as well as phenomena explained by both balance theory and exchange theory -- but is so encumbered by the legacy of orthodox Freudianism and semantic confusion (Sanford, 1955) that it is somewhat unsuitable for use in empirical social research.

In this paper we will suggest some foundaitons for a "social" theory of socialization and social influence, i.e., a theory that explains the influence of one person upon another on the basis of

characteristics presented in, and acts performed during, social interaction. Our starting point will be an empirical analysis of variables drawn from the literature dealing with parental identification. Then we will argue, following Winch (1962) and others, that variables drawn from identification theory can describe any relationship, not just the parent-child relationship, and that the concept of identification provides a foundation for a general theory of social influence.

Population and Sample. The data used here were gathered as part of the Purdue Youth Study, a study of family relations and the antecedents of academic achievement among high school students (Dager, 1968). In May, 1966, a questionnaire was administered to all students in grades 9 through 11 in two high schools in East Chicago, an industrialized city in Northwest Indiana. The questionnaire was self-administered under the supervision of the researchers and the guidance personnel of the school; 1996 usable forms were obtained. Although follow-up data on high school completion were gathered for the next three years as part of the study, only data from the questionnaires will be used here; the items and scores used will be described in the next section.

The demographic composition of the sample mirrors the demographic characteristics of East Chicago. Almost 80% of the sample have fathers occupying blue collar occupations; about 10% have fathers occupying white collar occupations, and 10% are unclassified. Each of three major ethnic groups, white, black, and latino, constitute about one-third of the sample. There are slightly more males than females in the sample (50.6% versus 49.4%). Finally, about two-thirds of the families have

both natural parents present; of the families having other arrangements, most are mother-only families.

THE CONCEPT OF IDENTIFICATION

Scientific use of the concept of identification began with the work of Freud (1900, 1905, 1912, 1917, 1921, 1923, 1932). Like much of his theoretical system, the concept was originally applied in the context of dream interpretation, then was generalized over time to apply to personality development considered broadly.

Many writers have noted the ambiguity associated with the concept of identification within the Freudian system (Meissner, 1970; 1971; 1972) and as it has been used by other writers (Sanford, 1955; Winch, 1962; Hines, 1975). Indeed, much of what is important in the identification literature consists of attempts to define -- literally, to give limits to -- the concept (cf. Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Winch, 1962; Sears, et. al., 1965; Lynn, 1969; Meissner, 1970, 1971, 1972). There is one point upon which all writers agree: the concept applies to the influence of one person upon another. Beyond this, however, agreement is far from comlete. Points of disagreement include the specifity of behaviors involved; the relative importance of conscious versus unconscious processes; the question of whether motives, behaviors, attitudes, or values are best seen as the outcome; and others.

A review of the literature indicates that the term identification has been used to describe any or all of the following:

(1) the process by which a "subject" (S) acquires the motive to be like another person (a model, "M");

(2) the process by which S comes to perceive himself as being like M;

(3) the process whereby S, in fact, becomes like M;

(4) the motives of S to be like M, or like M wants S to be;

(5) the outcome whereby S perceives himself as being like M;

(6) the outcome whereby S, infact, becomes like M.

When these uses of the term are juxtaposed, an "identificatory sequence" is implied; it begins with IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS, culminates in some IDENTIFICATORY OUTCOME, and has an IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE as an intervening variable.

IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS: Components and Indicators. This sequential conceptualization of identification has the merit of being general enough to include a broad range of both causes and effects of social influence. Moreover, its advantage for the present context is that it is explicitly social, referring to the influence of one person upon another. The social basis of identification resides primarily in IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS, which can be defined as the process(es) whereby the perception by S or certain characteristics and behaviors of M gives rise to identificatory motive and/or outcomes.

This raises the question: what characteristics and behaviors of M contribute to the process of identification, i.e., to the influence of M over S? Much research and theory has been devoted to this question. In attempting to synthesize this body of literature, Lynn presents a rather comprehensive list of the "principles" that "have been advanced by various investigators to account for the identification process" (1969:7):

1. Fear of punishment. A model is chosen because of a person's fear of receiving punishment from the model.
2. Fear of withheld love. A model is chosen because of a person's fear of losing the model's love.
3. Reinforcement. A person imitates a model ...because he is rewarded when he does so and punished when he does not.
4. Vicarious reinforcement. A person imitates a model because the model receives reward the observer experiences vicariously.
5. Status envy. A model is chosen because a person envies the model as a recipient of rewards from others.
6. Power envy. A model is chosen because the model has the power that the learner lacks.
7. Similarity. A model is chosen because the learner perceives that the model has characteristics similar to his own.

In a similar vein, Dager (1971:) argues that "whether or not one identifies with another is a function of four fundamental conditions." These are:

1. Interaction must occur between the subject and the model .
2. The model must be predisposed to satisfy the needs of the subject (nurturance).
3. A dependent relationship must develop between the subject and the model .
4. The models must have control of the resources the subject needs or feels he needs (power to reward or punish).

Though there is considerable overlap between the lists proposed by Dager and Lynn, one important point of contrast is Dager's greater emphasis on the way in which model characteristics are presented in, and determine the nature of, the interaction between model and subject. This raises a subtle but crucial point: when conceptualizing identificatory process as a social process, it is not the characteristics of the model <u>per se</u>, but rather the subject's perception of the characteristics that are seen as responsible for identification. From the lists proposed by Dager (1971) and Lynn (1969), and from other lists with similar purpose (Bronfenbrenner, 1970:134-139; Bandura, 1969; Bandura,

1971:54-56), we can abstract a number of general conditions of subject-model interaction that are conducive to the development of identification. Identification is most likely to occur when interaction is such that subject perceives the model as having the following characteristics:

(1) the mdoel possesses power and control over resources and reinforcers;

(2) the model expresses nurturance through interaction, i.e., there is closeness, caring, positive affect;

(3) the model possesses status, is an object of admiration;

(4) the model is similar-to-subject on important dimensions.

The indicator of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS used in the present study is designed to tap these variables -- perceived model power, nurturance, status, and similarity -- indirectly, via a series of items asking respondents to describe their relationships with each parent. Respondents were asked how much each parent is seen to: "HELP you ...get ...important things" (power of model); "INFLUENCE you" (again, the power of the model); be "CLOSE to you ... you care about them very much" (nurturance of model); be "SIMILAR to you" (similarity of model); and how much "you ADMIRE" each parent (status of model). Responses for each item ranged from "VERY MUCH," with a score value of 4, to "NOT AT ALL," which has a score value of 1. The IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS score is a summated score of all five of the above items, with a range from 4-20.

As can be seen, these items do not ask respondents directly about perceived parental power, nurturance, etc. Respondents were asked to

describe their relationships with parents in concrete terms meaningful to adolescents, and as a consequence the items, taken separately, only approximately measure the abstract characteristics of subject-model interaction listed earlier. When taken as a whole, however, the indicator of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS does appear to tap the desired characteristics.

IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE. The second phase of the identificatory sequence, IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE, refers to the desire, on the part of the subject, to be like the model, or like the model wants the subject to be. Some, but not all, approaches to identification assume that some sort of "motive to model," either conscious or subconscious, is involved in the phenomenon of identification. Some writers have viewed this motive as the outcome of identification, while others have argued that it is unnecessary to include such a motive in the analysis of identification. In the present study, the importance of IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE to the phenomenon of identification is taken as an empirical question, and an indicator of the concept has been included in the analysis.

Figure 1 contains the items that comprise the IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE score. Responses ranged from "STRONGLY AGREE" (value = 4) to "STRONGLY DISAGREE" (value = 1), yeilding a score range from 4-12.

--- Figure 1 about here ---

IDENTIFICATORY OUTCOME: VALUE SIMILARITY. As noted earlier, there is disagreement concerning the conceptualization and measurement of the outcome of identification. Bandura, for example, in discussing his "social learning theory of identification," insists upon a defini-

tion in terms of similarity in the behavior of the model and subject "under conditions where the model's behavior has served as the determinative cue for the matching responses" (Bandura, 1969:217). Although this approach has the methodological advantage of avoiding the use of perceived similarity as an indicator (see Bandura, 1969; Bronfenbrenner, 1958), it omits cognitive responses such as values and attitudes as outcomes. More appropriate for our purposes is a definition proposed by Kagan (1965:215):

> Identification is defined as an acquired, cognitive response within a person. The content of this response is that some of the attributes, motives, and characteristics of the model are part of (the subject's) psychological organization.

Following this general approach, the present study will use an index of the similarity between the values of respondents, and their perception of each parent's values, as an indicator of IDENTIFICATORY OUTCOME. This index, which can be termed VALUE SIMILARITY, is defined technically as the degree of similarity between the stated value positions of respondents and the value positions they perceive each parent as holding. For the balance of the study, the term VALUE SIMILARITY will be used to refer to the outcomes of the indentificatory sequence.

The items used to measure value positions are shown in Figure 2. The respondent is asked how important each of a series of 19 goals and activities are to him and, at separate points in the questionnaire, to each of his parents. The measurement of value position, then, is rather straightforward. The strategy adopted to measure similarity of values can be described this way. For each item (for example, "GOING STEADY)

the position the subject attributes to himself will be compared to the position he attributes to the parent. The response alternatives are assigned the following numerical values: "very important" (4), "important" (3), "slightly important" (2), "not at all important" (1). Subtracting the value of the respondent's position from the value of the parent's, then summing the absolute values of these differences across the 19 items, one arrives at an overall index of the degree to which the value position of the respondent and the perceived value position of the parent are similar.

--- Figure 2 about here ---

Scores on the instrument described above can range from "0", where parent and respondent agree on all 19 items, to "57," where there is maximum disagreement (the maximum difference being "3") on all 19 items. The problem with the index as it stands is that it is technically an index of value disagreement, in the sense that the higher the disagreement the higher the score. This situation is easily rectified by a transformation whereby scores arrived at as described above are subtracted from 57. Then, the situation where parent and respondent agree on all 19 items (originally scored "0") has a score of "57," while maximum disagreement on all items (originally scored "57") acquires a value of "0;" this will be the index of VALUE SIMILARITY used in the present study.

The social systemic context of parental identification. Thus far the level of VALUE SIMILARITY has been explained in terms of characteristics of the subject-model interaction. But it is important to note

that the character of any interaction reflects, to some degree, the character of the wider social systemic context within which it takes place. In the case of parent-child interaction, this wider context begins with the family and extends to the broader societal context within which the family is imbedded.

In order to incorporate this fact into the present analysis, the link between parental identification and characteristics of the structure and function of the family as a social system will be examined. Two variables will be used. The first is a dichotomously coded variable termed INTACT, which indicates whether both "biological parents" are present in the home (INTACT = 1) or not (INTACT = 0).

The second variable, FAMILY INTEGRATION, is designed to measure the quality and stability of family interaction. The items, shown in Figure 3, measure a number of features of family life and patterns of perception including: the observation of holidays and "rituals" (item 1); the clarity of role expectations (item 2); lack of tension and conflict (ietm 3); openness and communication among family members (items 4 & 8); family task efficacy (item 5); family cooperation (item 6), pride (item 9), and caring (item 7); and the overall affective quality of family life (item 10). Scores for the index range from 10-40.

With the addition of the two "Family Systemic" variables of INTACT and FAMILY INTEGRATION to the antecedents of VALUE SIMILARITY we have, in effect, proposed the model shown in Figure 4, and it is this basic model that will serve as the starting point of the empirical analysis.

--- Figure 3 about here ---

RESULTS

The "identificatory sequence": testing the basic formulation. Tables 1 through 4 contain the intercorrelations (Pearsons r) among the variables shown in Figure 4. Clearly, the variables in the identificatory sequence are correlated with each other, and with both family systemic variables; indeed, the only variables not correlated with each other are INTACT and FAMILY INTEGRATION, indicating that the level of "integration" as measured here is completely independent of whether or not both natural parents are present in the home.[1] As can be seen, the correlations are fairly strong, especially those involving IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS. Also of interest is the fact that INTACT, which is not an attitudinal or subjective variable but an objective one, correlates significantly with all components of the identificatory sequence, especially for father identification; this argues favorably for the validity of the identification measures. In short, the data support the theory, at least in the sense that the variables are intercorrelated.

--- Table 1 about here ---

--- Table 2 about here ---

--- Table 3 about here ---

--- Table 4 about here ---

But does the pattern of correlation strength correspond to that which would be predicted from Figure 4? Using the numeric labels given the variables in Figure 4 the following patterns of zero-order correlation strength would be predicted:

FOR FAMILIAL INTEGRATION: r_{12} r_{13} r_{14} FOR PROCESS: r_{34} r_{35}

That is to say, the zero-order correlation of FAMILIAL INTEGRATION with the variables in the identificatory sequence should decrease in strength as one "moves away" from family integration in the model; the correlation of FAMILIAL INTEGRATION with PROCESS should be the strongest, the correlatin of FAMILIAL INTEGRATION with VALUE SIMILARITY should be the weakest. Similarly, the zero-order correlation of PROCESS with MOTIVE should be greater than that between PROCESS and VALUE SIMILARITY.

In no table does this pattern entirely occur. For example, in Table 1, contrary to the prediction outlined above, the correlation between FAMILIAL INTEGRATION and MOTIVE (r_{13}) is greater, not less than, the correlation between FAMILIAL INTEGRATION and PROCESS (r_{12}), and the correlation between PROCESS and VALUE SIMILARITY (r_{24}) is greater than that between PROCESS and MOTIVE (r_{23}). Indeed, in every single table, the correlation between PROCESS and VALUE SIMILARITY is greater than that between PROCESS and MOTIVE; therefore in every table the relative magnitude of the zero-order correlations involving PROCESS fail to support our "straight line" model of the identificatory sequence. Similarly, the pattern of correlations involving FAMILIAL INTEGRATION fails to support the "straight line" model in three of the four tables, the exception being in Table 2.

In short, while the results contained in Tables 1 through 4 do support the basic hypothesis that the variables in the identificatory sequence will be correlated with each other and with FAMILIAL INTEGRATION, they do not support the proposed "straight line" causal sequence.

A more complex conceptualization seems to be called for. The correlations indicate that, if only these variables are considered, a direct link should be posited between FAMILIAL INTEGRATION and VALUE SIMILARITY. Second, since the correlation between PROCESS and VALUE SIMILARITY tends to be greater than that between PROCESS and MOTIVE, the relatiosnip between PROCESS and VALUE SIMILARITY cannot be accounted for by MOTIVE as an intervening variable, as our proposed sequence would indicate.

A revised model for the antecedents of VALUE SIMILARITY. Figure 5 illustrates a revised conceptualization of the antecedents of VALUE SIMILARITY which is consistent with the findings thus far. The family systemic variables retain their position at the beginning of the sequence, and VALUE SIMILARITY retains its position at the end; the implied temporal sequence among all variables, in fact, remains unchanged. The only change is the addition of causal links among all variables, indicating that variables earlier in the sequence may have "direct" as wlll as "indirect" effects upon variables later in the sequence. This new and more complex conceptualization, with its implications of "direct" and "indirect" effects, is an inviting subject for the use of path analysis. Although the present cross-sectional data does not meet the requirements for empirical path estimation (for a discussion of the data requirements for path analysis (see Land, 1969; Heise, 1969), it can be used here for "heuristic purposes," i.e., to explore the implications of the model shown in Figure 5.

--- Figure 5 about here ---

Since the analysis to be presented here is a "heuristic" one, only one of the four cases, that for identification with father, will be discussed in depth. Figure 6 contains the path model; Table 1 contains the correlation matrix.

Predicting VALUE SIMILARITY between boys and their fathers. As can be seen from Figure 6 and Table 5, the overall explanatory power of the model which depicts the identification of boys with their father is fairly respectable, with 22.6 percent of the variance in VALUE SIMILARITY being explained by the four antecedent variables. Although the ability of the model to predict VALUE SIMILARITY is our principal concern, it is also worth noting that almost one-fifth of the variance (19.7%) in IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS, the initial variable in the identificatory sequence, is explained by FAMILIAL INTEGRATION and INTACT, the two variables representing the effects of familial structural conditions upon the identificatory sequence. In this connection it should again be pointed out that, while INTACT is fairly strongly associated with the identification measures, with correlation coefficients ranging from .202 (INTACT with MOTIVE) to .384 (INTACT with PROCESS), there is no association whatsoever between INTACT, as coded here, and FAMILY INTEGRATION.

--- Figure 6 about here ---

The most important direct effects operative in the system are PROCESS upon VALUE SIMILARITY ($p = .377$) and INTACT upon PROCESS ($p = .384$). In addition, there are indirect effects of INTACT and FAMILIAL INTEGRATION upon VALUE SIMILARITY operating via MOTIVE and PROCESS.

About three-fourths of the effect of FAMILIAL INTEGRATION upon VALUE SIMILARITY is indirect (.136 - .031 = .101), while about three-fifths of the effect of INTACT is indirect (.267 - .105 = .162). It is important to note that, according to this revised model, about three-fourths of the effect of PROCESS upon VALUE SIMILARITY is direct (.377) as opposed to indirect (.079); the original "straight line" sequence implied that all of the effect of PROCESS upon VALUE SIMILARITY would be indirect via MOTIVE.

Generally, the revised model indicates that IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS is the crucial variable in the system that predicts the level of VALUE SIMILARITY between boys and their father. It has a large direct effect upon VALUE SIMILARITY. In Addition, due to the strong paths leading to PROCESS from the two familial structural variables, much of their effect is indirect via PROCESS.

Generalizations from the other three cases. Table 5 summarizes several important aspects of the findings for the other three parent-child relationships, i.e., the identification of girls with their mother, girls with their father, and boys with their mother. Following the trends emerging from the previous case, we will confine our interest to the relative magnitudes of the direct effects of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS and MOTIVE upon VALUE SIMILARITY, and to the degree to which the effects of FAMILY INTEGRATION and INTACT are indirect, via the two idnetification measures.

Considering first the relative magnitude of the direct effects on VALUE SIMILARITY, it is clear that the strongest effects are those of

IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS. Indeed, for every case, the direct effect of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS on VALUE SIMILARITY is greater than the sum of the direct effects of the other three antecedents combined. It is also noteworthy that virtually all of the total effect of PROCESS is direct; very little of its effect is indirect via IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE. In contrast, most of the effect of other variables in the system is indirect.

--- Table 5 about here ---

DISCUSSION

In assessing the potential usefulness of the concept of identification for a general theory of social influence, three findings are particularly relevant.

First, the indicators of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS and MOTIVE used in the present study successfully predicted perceived VALUE SIMILARITY. The zero-order correlation coefficients relating PROCESS to VALUE SIMILARITY ranged between .357 and .493; the coefficients relating MOTIVE to VALUE SIMILARITY were weaker, ranging from .160 to .254, but were still statistically significant well beyond the .001 level. Moreover, the path models using these variables and the family structural variables of FAMILY INTEGRATION and INTACT were capable of accounting for between 20 percent and 26 percent of the variance in VALUE SIMILARITY.

A second major finding was the dominant position of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS among the antecedents of VALUE SIMILARITY. When Only zero-order correlations are considered, IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS is, in every case,

the single best predictor of VALUE SIMILARITY; the correlations are usually about twice as great as those between VALUE SIMILARITY and the other antecedent variables (FAMILY INTEGRATION, INTACT, and IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE). The zero-order correlations also reveal the strong relationship between IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS and the other antecedents of VALUE SIMILARITY. Thus, even if only the zero-order correlations are considered, IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS emerges as the key variable in the identificatory sequence.

Finally, when these relationships are incorporated into the proposed path model, IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS takes on even greater significance. The conclusions that are contingent upon the causal sequence embodied in the path model pertain to the operation of direct and indirect effects. Although there is variation across the four specific cases, generally aobut two-thirds of the effect of INTACT and one-half of the effect of FAMILY INTEGRATION upon VALUE SIMILARITY are indirect, via IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS and MOTIVE. Given the fact that the direct relationship between PROCESS and VALUE SIMILARITY is stronger than that between MOTIVE and VALUE SIMILARITY, most of these indirect effects are via IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS. In other words, the evidence indicates that IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS is mediating most of the effects of family structural variables upon the level of social influence exerted by the parent upon the child.

It should be noted that these findings have relevance to the study of the parent-child relationship per se. For example, to the extent that IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS measures what is usually termed parental nurtur-

ance and instrumental efficacy, the present study highlights the impact of these variables upon the parent's capacity to influence the child. Moreover, the fact that most of the effect of PROCESS is not indirect via MOTIVE has profound significance for discussions of the parent-child relationship, since it implies that parental nurturance and power can culminate in high VALUE SIMILARITY even when the conscious motive to be like the parent is low; the child need not feel that he wants to be like the parent in order to perceive similarity between parent and self.

Assessing the usefulness of the concept of identification also involves theoretical considerations. It is argued that the potential of identification theory as a basis for a broad social theory of socialization is due to the breadth of antecedents of social influence that it incorporates. In developing the measure of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS it was noted that identification is most likely to occur when interaction is such that the model is seen to possess power and control over resources and reinforcers, to be nurturant, to possess status, and to be similar to the subject. The breadth and inclusiveness of this list of components of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS becomes apparent when it is juxtaposed with the independent variables of the "partial" theories of socialization -- exchange theory, interactionist theory, balance theory, and identification theory -- discussed earlier in the paper.

As can be seen in Figure 7b, the independent variables of all partial theories, inluding identification theory, are included among the components of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS. A model's capacity to exchange reinforcers is included in the concept of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS, since

PROCESS taps the "power and reinforcement control" and "nurturance" exhibited by the model in interaction with the subject. The valence of subject's orientation is reflected in the perceived "status" and "similarity" of the model. Although there is no coherent theory to explain why significant others are significant, it would seem to be a result of their position vis-a-vis the subject, which gives rise to perceived status and similarity as well as the potential for nurturance and reinforcement control; the concept of significant other, then, is more a summary description of the outcome of social influence than an explanation of its roots.

--- Figure 7a about here ---

--- Figure 7b about here ---

Generally then, the data analysis indicates that the measures of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS and MOTIVE, especially the former, can account for variance in VALUE SIMILARITY; in addition, they can function as intervening variables between social systemic variables and a variable representing the outcome of the socialization process. Moreover, at a theoretical level, the concept of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS has great potential generality, being capable of subsuming the concept of valence, upon which "balance" theories of cognitive consistency rest; the concepts of power, nurturance, and reinforcer control which are crucial to exchange theory as a theory of socialization; and finally, the notion of "significance by virtue of position" which underlies the interactionist conceptualization of significant other. Given this optimistic appraisal of identification as an approach to socialization and social influence, one wonders why the concept has not been more widely adopted.

The explanation seems to reside primarily in the fact that writers could not agree upon what the concept meant. This created numerous theoretical problems. What status did concepts such as penis envy, oedipus and electra complexes, and castration anxiety, which were at the heart of the Freudian theory of sexual identification, occupy in a modern theory of identification? Does identification refer to a process, motive, or product? Are these processes, motives, or outcomes conscious or subconscious? This conceptual confusion effectively prevented the emergence of a coherent tradition of measurement, and eventually writers turned to approaches more amenable to clear definition and measurement.

The present study was designed to overcome these problems. Identification was defined comprehensively, to include process, motive, and outcome. In addition, in order to render the theory testable in a survey research format, the assumption was made that concepts could be measured by asking the respondent about conscious perceptions and feelings. But more important, the conceptualization of the starting point of the phenomenon of identification -- IDENTIFICATION PROCESS -- drew upon the work of writers subsequent to Freud; consequently, the present study was based upon and extended generalizations grounded in modern social psychological theory and research, and was unencumbered by the more obscure trappings of the Freudian formulation.

Toward a theory of "social" identification. Despite this success in developing a sociologically useful conceptualization of identification, there remains the problem of the legacy of meaning attached to the term identification, and the fact that the view presented here differs

considerably in focus from other approaches using the term. Moreover, since the present formulation stands without many of the central elements of the Freudian theory of identification, and since, in fact, it is not even concerned with sexual identification, it might be argued that the present study is not really a study of identification, but of something else.

Indeed, it is crucial to differentiate the approach taken in this study from other approaches to the study of identification. Perhaps the solution is to consider the present study as a study of "modeling;" clearly, the present approach is similar to, and uses variables found in, the theory of modeling developed by Bandura, Walters, and others (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Bandura, 1971) largely in response to their study and critique of identification theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1958, 1961; Bandura, et. al., 1963; Bandura, 1969). But there are two subtle yet absolutely crucial differences between the modeling theory approach and the present one. First, in the present formulation, it is not the characteristics of the "model" but rather the characteristics of the "model"-"subject" relationship that are the focus of analysis. Thus the indicator of IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS did not ask if the parent was "a powerful person," or "an influential person," or "a person who becomes close to others;" instead, the respondent was asked about his or her relationship to the parent: does your mother (or father) "HELP YOU get important things," "INFLUENCE YOU," are they "CLOSE TO YOU," etc. Second, the present formulation applies only when the model and subject have actually

interacted, whereas the theory of modeling can be applied to cases where the subject observes a model's behavior, even when subject-model interaction has not occured. For these reasons, the term modeling theory cannot properly be applied to the approach to social influence developed here.

There is a dilemma then: a need exists to differentiate the present perspective from others using the term identification, but there seems to be no other term available to substitute for identification. If the term cannot be abandoned, at least a modifier can be attached to it which will distinguish the conceptualization proposed here from others. The term social identification is suggested for the approach to identification taken in this paper. To put this somewhat more systematically, social identification is defined as having the following characteristics:

(1) There must be interaction between the "subject" and the "model" This differentiates social identification from imitation of public figures, fictional characters, etc., which is sometimes termed "identification," as when a child is said to "identify with Babe Ruth." It also eliminates ego-extensions, etc., as when a person is said to "identify with his country."

(2) The phenomenon is perfectly general, i.e., it can occur in any relationship, not just the parent-child relationship.

(3) The level of social identification depends upon the extent to which the relationship between the "model" and "subject" enables the model to exhibit power, nurturance, status, and similarity.

The "theory of social identification" as developed here combines three properties that distinguish it from other theories of social influence, and other approaches to identification. First, it is very broad, encompassing independent and dependent variables appearing in all major theories pertaining to socialization. Second, it is generally, applicable to any relationship where social interaction occurs. Third, and perhaps most important, it is explicitly social: it explains the influence of one person upon another in terms of characteristics presented in, and acts performed during, social interaction. As noted, the variables that would enter such a theory have already been explored in considerable depth, both in theory and in research; the task is really not one of finding new variables, but of developing a general framework that can accomodate what is already known about the antecedents of social influence, and which can be truly social in character and emphasis.

NOTES

1. Most of the non-intact homes were homes with the "natural" father absent. The distribution of the living arrangements within this sample was as follows: both natural parents, (intact=1), 67.9%; mother only, 18.3%; mother and stepfather, 7.3%; other, 6.5%. The fact that INTACT is not correlated with FAMILY INTEGRATION indicates that family integration is possible without the full family structural complement.

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Table 1

Correlation Matrix and Total Variance Explained in Identification Measures, Males with their Father (N=1010)

	(2) INTACT	(3) PROCESS	(4) MOTIVE	(5) VALUE SIMILARITY
FAMILY INTEGRATION	.000	.222*	.250*	.136*
INTACT		.384*	.202*	.267*
IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS			.369*	.456*
IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE				.254*
R^2		.197*	.174*	.226*

*Indicates a correlation significant at the .01 level, one tail test

Table 2

Correlation Matrix and Total Variance Explained in Identification Measures, Males with their Mother (N=1010)

	(2) INTACT	(3) PROCESS	(4) MOTIVE	(5) VALUE SIMILARITY
FAMILY INTEGRATION	.000	.283*	.277*	.173*
INTACT		.095*	.109*	.144*
IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS			.246*	.357
IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE				.160*
R^2		.089*	.116*	.148*

*Indicates a correlation significant at the .01 level, one tail test

Table 3

Correlation Matrix and Total Variance Explained in Identification Measures, Females with their Father (N=986)

	(2) INTACT	(3) PROCESS	(4) MOTIVE	(5) VALUE SIMILARITY
FAMILY INTEGRATION	.010	.244*	.292*	.179*
INTACT		.411*	.215*	.267*
IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS			.454*	.439*
IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE				.236*
R^2		.226*	.244*	.253*

*Indicates a correlation significant at the .01 level, one tail test

Table 4

Correlation Matrix and Total Variance Explained in Identification Measures, Females with their Mother (N=986)

	(2) INTACT	(3) PROCESS	(4) MOTIVE	(5) VALUE SIMILARITY
FAMILY INTEGRATION	.015	.338*	.203*	.234*
INTACT		.058	.138*	.132*
IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS			.258*	.418*
IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE				.186*
R^2		.117*	.097*	.200*

*Indicates a correlation significant at the .01 level, one tail test

Table 5

Direct and Total Effects of Antecedent Variables Upon VALUE SIMILARITY

Antecedent Variables:	Identification of..... Males with Father		Males with Mother		Females with Father		Females with Mother	
	TOTAL EFFECT	DIRECT EFFECT	TOTAL EFFECT	DIRECT EFFECT	TOTAL EFFECT	DIRECT EFFECT	TOTAL EFFECT	DIRECT EFFECT
FAMILY INTEGRATION	.136	.031	.173	.070	.179	.070	.097	.077
INTACT	.267	.105	.144	.108	.267	.084	.234	.101
IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS	.456	.377	.357	.314	.443	.439	.418	.364
IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE	.254	.086	.160	.051	.236	.003	.186	.058

Figure 1 Items Used to Measure IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE

1. "I want to be (or I want my future husband to be) the kind of MAN MY FATHER IS to my mother."

2. "I want to be (or I want my future wife to be) the kind of WOMAN MY MOTHER IS to my father."

3. "I want to be (or I want my future husband to be) the kind of FATHER MY FATHER IS to me."

4. "I want to be (or I want my future wife to be) the kind of MOTHER MY MOTHER IS to me."

5. "I want to raise my children about the same way my parents raised me."

Items 1, 3, and 5 measure identification with father; items 2, 4 and 5 measure identification with mother.

Figure 2 Measuring Value-position

LISTED BELOW ARE SOME THINGS THAT MIGHT BE VERY IMPORTANT TO YOU AND SOME THINGS THAT ARE NOT SO IMPORTANT TO YOU. WOULD YOU PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER EACH OF THE FOLLOWING IS VERY IMPORTANT TO YOU, IMPORTANT, SLIGHTLY IMPORTANT, OR NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT TO YOU RIGHT NOW.

	Very Important	Important	Slightly Important	Not at all Important
Getting good grades in school	____	____	____	____
Being treated as an adult	____	____	____	____
Being popular at school	____	____	____	____
Having a nice car	____	____	____	____
Finishing high school	____	____	____	____
Being on my own	____	____	____	____
Dating	____	____	____	____
Having nice clothes	____	____	____	____
Religion	____	____	____	____
Earning my own money	____	____	____	____
Going steady	____	____	____	____
Being good at sports	____	____	____	____
Going to business school or technical school	____	____	____	____
Getting married as soon as possible	____	____	____	____
Being looked up to by others	____	____	____	____
My courses in school	____	____	____	____
Belonging to a gang	____	____	____	____
Reading	____	____	____	____
Going to college	____	____	____	____

Figure 3 The Family Integration Items

All Items have the same response alternatives, which are given for Item #1.*

1. In my family we celebrate birthdays and some other holidays.

   All of the time

   Most of the time

   Some of the time

   none of the time

2. In my family we all know what is expected of us.

3. In my family there is a great deal of fighting and tension.

4. In my family we can tell each other what we think no matter what it is.

5. In my family nothing ever seems to get done right.

6. In my family we help each other whenever we can.

7. In my family we all care about each other.

8. In my family we tell each other what our plans are.

9. In my family we stick up for each other when something goes wrong.

10. Ours is a happy family.

Note: Score values range from 4 ("all of the time") to 1 ("none of the time") for all items except Item #3 and Item #5, where the order is reversed. A high score indicates high Family Integration.

* For a further elaboration of the Family Integration Index, see Dager (1968).

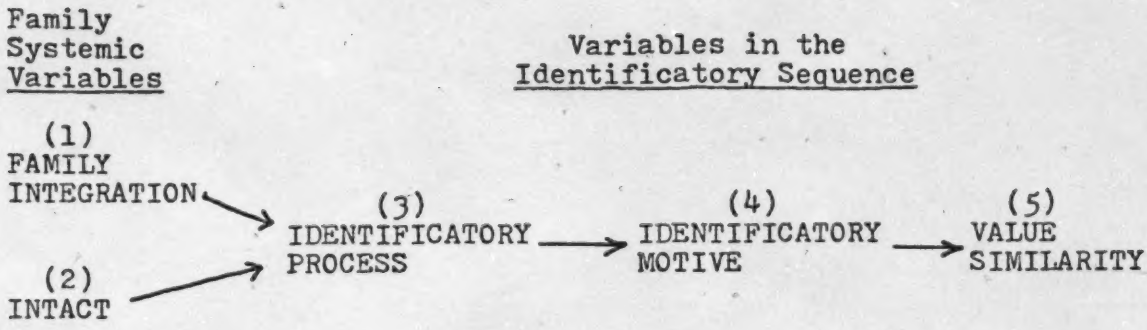


Figure 4
Family Systemic Variables and the Identificatory Sequence

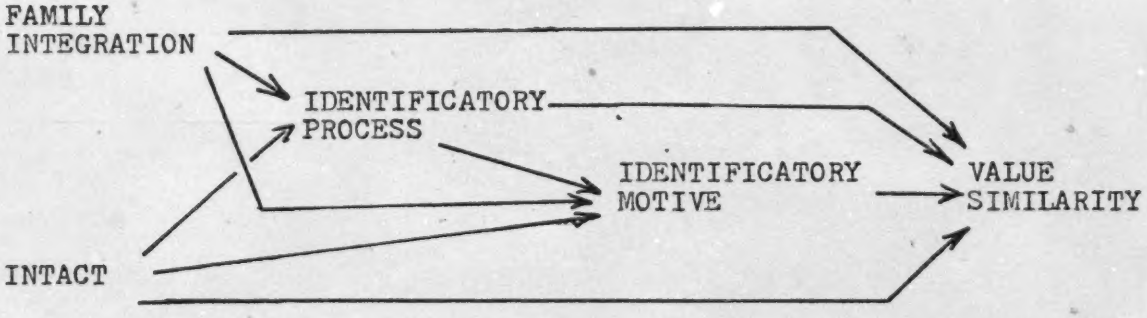
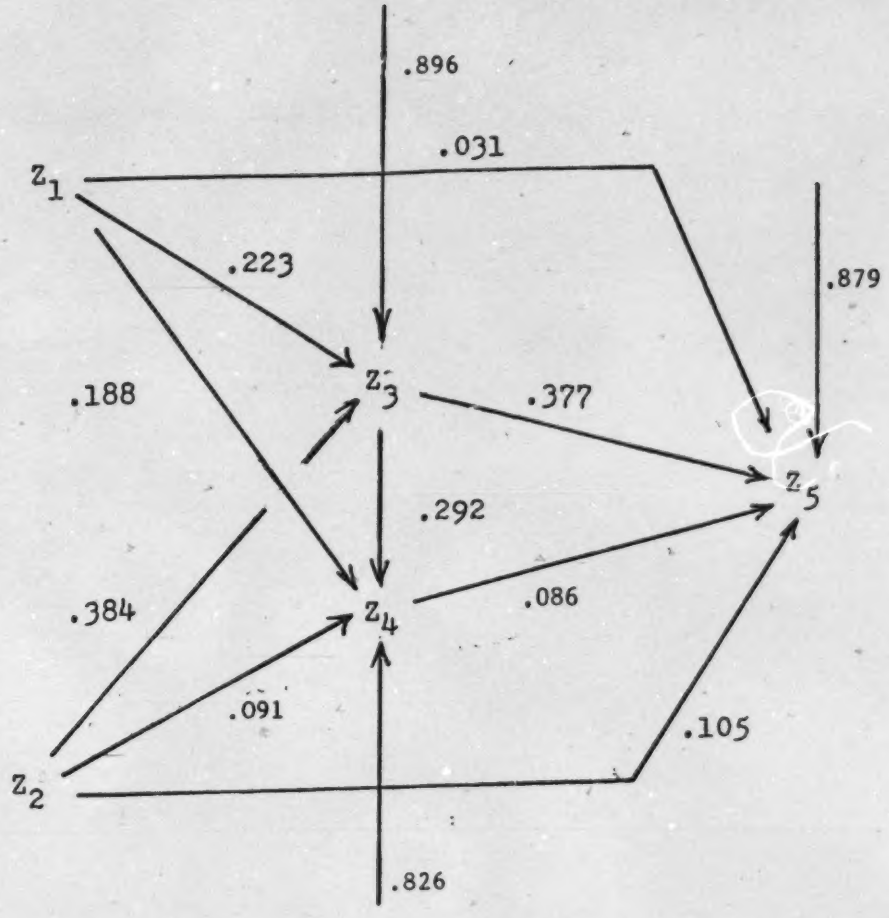


Figure 5
A Revised Conceptualization of the Antecedents of VALUE SIMILARITY



z_1 FAMILY INTEGRATION

z_2 INTACT

z_3 IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS

z_4 IDENTIFICATORY MOTIVE

z_5 VALUE SIMILARITY

Figure 6

Path Model for the Identificatory Sequence, Males with their Father (N=1010)

Figure 7a
Independent & Dependent Variables in Social Theories of Socialization

General Theoretical Orientation	Independent Variables of Focus	Dependent Variables of Focus
"symbolic interactionism" (Blummer, 1962; Hughes, 1962)	"referent others" (significant others, reference groups) whose significance to subject is due mainly to their position vis-a-vis subject;	self, self-image, role-taking, role-playing
"exchange theory" (Homans, 1961; Blau, 1967)	the exchange of "reinforcing acts" between "subject" and "model"	behavior, esteem of subject for model, power of model over subject
"balance theory" (Newcomb, 1953)	valence of subject's orientation to model (is subject "positive" or "negative" toward model, does subject "like or dislike" model)	valence of subject's orientation toward some "attitudinal" object
"identification theory" (as developed subsequent to Freud) (Winch, 1962; Lynn, 1969)	model's behavior toward subject as it manifests model's power & control over reinforcers; nurturance; status; similarity to subject;	subject's similarity to model, or behavior in accordance with model's expectations (see Dager, 1971); subject's motive to be like model (may be an independent or intervening variable)

Figure 7b
IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS and the Independent Variables of Other Theories

The independent variable...	Appears in IDENTIFICATORY PROCESS as...
Significance of referent Other	"status" and "similarity"
model's capacity to exchange reinforcers	"power and reinforcement control" and "nurturance"
valence of orientation toward model	all aspects of PROCESS, but especially "status" & "similarity"